8: Barker M-5 (ca. 1951-1956) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Raids among the Waica
[Las incursiones entre los Guaika]

by James Barker

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Raids among the Guaika

By James Barker (*)

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* Mr. James Barker has prepared this work as a result of his many years with the Guaika /Waica/ Indians of the Upper Orinoco, Venezuela. In this Boletín (Year I, Vol. I, Caracas, June-December, 1953, Nos. 3-4, pp. 433-489 /see 7: Barker, this file/) he presented a report of his observations under the title of "Memoria sobre la cultura Guaika /Memoir on the Culture of the Waica/." The present work is the result of his observations, which, revealed in an objective and simple manner, are of positive value for ethnologists and ethnographers.

121 I have been asked for more information about the raid. As I am not sure of which one I am asked about, I will tell about several, especially those about which I have quite detailed information.

574 628 In February of 1951 the aldea of Liacoatjeti invited the aldea of Bisheasetjeti to a Pijiguao or palm festival. The men of Liacoatjeti had gone on a special hunt to get a supply of meat. There was to have been an abundance of every type of food. There were to have been special dances, the taking of yopo, and other things which they do on such festive occasions.

574 628 721 But the invitation was a trick which those of Liatcoatjeti /sic/ had planned in order to be able to kill, if possible, all of the men of Bisheasetjeti and capture their women. Batanoetjeti and other aldeas which were enemies of Bisheasetjeti were invited to hide outside of the aldea and shoot at any man who tried to get away. Since they did not need to feed anybody, the Liacoatjeti did not bother to go hunting.

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574 The majority of those from the aldea of Bisheasetjeti ac-
628 cepted the invitation. They entered Liatcoatjeti, hanging their
721 hammocks from the trees, and they were served a soup made
[262] of boiled ripe plantains. Then suddenly they were attacked with
[411] axes, machetes, and other weapons. The leaders and the oldest were attacked first, and most of them died, but many of the younger men managed to escape, dropping everything and running for their lives. The enemies who were lying in wait outside also took the same road as those who had fled from the aldea.

727 The majority of the women were captured, but at the first opportunity all of the older ones escaped and returned to Bisheasetjeti. But the younger girls were afraid to run away, and for that reason most of them are now the wives of the men of Liacoatjeti or of their friends.

628 The aldea of Majecototjeti (Platanal) was short of food.
731 They constructed a bridge over the Orinoco and crossed it to
[499] make a visit to Bisheasetjeti and stay until their own farms might be able to produce more food. The people of Majecototjeti came to Bisheasetjeti just at the moment when those who had managed to escape were arriving and reassembling.

628 A messenger was sent to Yabitjaotjeti for arrows, and about
411 six or seven boys from Yabitjaotjeti came with him, each one
721 carrying a large bundle of darts /dardos, darts, lances/. These were quickly put together and their points put on. Bisheasetjeti was rearmed, and Majecototjeti better armed than before and
166 ready to attack. The site of the aldea of Bisheasetjeti was aban-
722 doned at this time, for fear that the enemies might follow them
628 to it. Both aldeas lived on what was produced by that of the Majecotatjeti /sic/. They crossed the Orinoco every three days to obtain a load of bananas from the farm located on the north bank.

One of the times when they came to get food, they found that the river had carried off the bridge. No one had a boat, and they could not cross. About three days later the men of Majecototjeti returned to the river and built their houses on the cleared place of the aldea. Meanwhile they lived in the forest
000 near there. One day, that is to say after the aldea was ready,

722 /152 cont. /One day, that is to say after the aldea was ready,
499 the Bisheasetjeti also crossed; the bridge was /153/ cut by them near the bank. Guards were placed to keep a lookout for the enemy, should he try to repair the bridge and cross it.

727 Much after this, a raid was made on Liacoatjeti by some
[721] of the Bisheasetjeti and the Majecotjeti /sic/: "Jaiyoota," one of the Majecototjeti, shot one of them and killed him. A boy of four or five years of age was captured. One of the men from Majecototjeti, "Ushiu," took the boy and cared for him. All of the children were bothering the little one, calling him enemy and acting as if they were going to shoot him. One day, after this had gone on for a while, a young man from Bisheasetjeti shot the child near the water spring. He shot the arrow so hard that it passed through him. Ushiu gave the child a funeral, but none of the other inhabitants of the aldea came to the "lloro" /weeping/, because they said, "After all, he was an enemy."

628 The two aldeas had some bad times together. Often, when
721 they were in the forest, they had to come running back, feeling
578 sick. Frequently their ribs were showing. During this time
[164] several died of a strange fever which kept the victim hot day and
[361] night without relief. Others were very sick with the fever, and it was feared that they would also die. The two aldeas of Bisheasetjeti and Majecototjeti lived together for a year, until those of Bisheasetjeti made a new "farm" /granja/ down the Orinoco, on the other side of the Manaviche River. When they separated, friction caused by some women had reached such a point that the Majecototjeti summoned the Macolimutjeti, and both of them made a raid on Bisheasetjeti to recover the wife of a Majecototjeti who had gone to live with a Bisheasetjeti. One family did not take part in this raid and by its friendly and frequent visits prevented the two aldeas from shooting at each other.

628 Another incident of friction was that a young man from
578 Majecototjeti stole a Bisheasetjeti woman from her husband.
837 When the husband had almost persuaded his wife to come back with him, the Majecototjeti man shot him in the back with a bone-pointed arrow and kept the woman. The Bisheasetjeti man was seriously wounded, but recovered.

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628 In January of 1952, while many of those from the aldea of
584 Yoeitjeti were visiting in Majecototjeti, a group of men from
/154/ Shibaatía-tjeti came and inquired about "Macluma," about giving her in matrimony to a man from Shibaatía-tjeti, who was already married to her older sister. "Macluma" had just passed puberty, and "Yajicocoue," the husband of the other older sister of "Macluma," also wanted her. The grandmother of "Macluma" persuaded her not to go off with the man from Shibaatía-tjeti unless she never wanted to see her again.

That night the Shibaatía-tjeti suitor asked for Macluma in "singing" fashion, while talking with "Shinaocaoue," the chief /capitán/ of Majecototjeti. The chief called him "old man." He told the chief that if he obtained her, he would be good to her, he would not put fire on her or beat her. I am not sure what conclusion they reached, although I suspect that the chief refused to give her to him.

628 On the following afternoon the men of Shibaatía-tjeti
583 caught "Macluma" outside of the aldea and tried to take her off
584 by force, in what the Yonomama /Yanoama/ call a "shaimau." The Majecototjeti women came to rescue her, and a group got into a fight and into a "rope fight" /lucha de cuerda/ over "Macluma." This lasted for several hours. The men of Yoeitjeti and I myself stood to one side and watched, but did not take part. Finally, the women managed to carry "Macluma" back to her house, and things quieted down.

The men of Shibaatía-tjeti said that they would come back for "Macluma." The men of Majecototjeti said, "If you do, we will shoot you."

After that, when the Shibaatía-tjeti visited them, at most there were groups of two or three.

721 In October of 1953 the Shibaatía-tjeti came one evening
[411] at nightfall and shot a poisoned arrow at a boy, "Bosalima," who was standing at the entrance to the aldea. The wound was not very deep, but was several inches long.

123 /154 cont./

721 At this moment Dave London and I were taking a /155/ bath in a stream about 100 meters from the aldea. We heard a lot of shouting and crying. A few minutes later a couple of men from Majecototjeti came toward us, saying, "Come look, raiders," while they pointed toward the aldea. These men did not go on, carrying only a bunch of plantains and their weapons.

We dressed rapidly and went to the aldea. Most of the [752] men had gone off in pursuit of the raiders. The women were pour- [755] ing water on the wound, while the sorcerer sang over it. Soon all of the reserve water of the aldea was used up. They asked us if we could help them. We called Ed Killiam, who brought his snakebite kit and sucked out the wound with it, until we did not dare do any more for fear of his losing too much blood, since he was bleeding freely. We also prayed.

The boy almost stopped breathing, but after an hour and a half he began to come around. Soon after this he got up and went to his house; the paralyzing effect of the curare on the 726 lungs had passed. The pursuit of the raiders continued all night and across the uppermost part of the Manaviche River. In some way the chief and "Yelequei-jûu" managed to pass some of the raiders. Two boys came back, hungry and looking for wild fruits. They found some wild cacao and stopped to eat it. At this moment the chief wounded "Dujuue" in the abdomen with a wide arrow-point of bamboo. His companion wounded the other young man in the arm.

726 (If you asked a Yanomama what he would do if he were 763 wounded and knew that he was going to die, he would strike a 183 pose which is supposed to represent bravery, and he would also state the brave words which he would say.)

But "Dujuue" did not do this. Knowing that he was going to die, he sat down, calling for his mother. The Shibaatfa-tejeti later recovered his decomposed body and took it to the aldea to [764] burn it. The other wounded young man recovered. The Majecototjeti told them that both had died, until /156/ visitors from Boletjaotjeti came and told them that the other young man had recovered.

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721 In December of 1953 the Shibaatía-tjeti came back to make
123 another raid, accompanied by the Comishibueitjeti. But the Majecototjeti had camped outside, on the other side of the river. Some of the Shibaatía-tjeti approached us carrying an arrow, but leaving their bows in the woods with the other men. They explained that they were friendly visitors and asked where the Majecototjeti were, because they were supposed to visit them. But their black war-paint showed that they had come on a raid. (Visitors are painted with red or mulberry color, but not black.) When they saw that they were not going to get us to tell them where the people were, they asked us to give them matches and fishhooks. They gave us in exchange some knives made of tooth. After this things calmed down, but from this time on the people of Majecototjeti have lived inside their palisades when they were near their main farm.

[302] [574] [822] [412] [361]

166 The people of Majecototjeti started a new farm called
361 "Joitja-tjeca" to the south of the Orinoco, where they could
721 live without palisades and feel safe from raids by the Shibaatía-tjeti. The Majecototjeti did not plan any retaliatory raid, because they said, "None of our men have been killed."

727 In September of 1954 I had camped with the Majecototjeti at
361 their new farm to the south of the Orinoco River. Everybody was
[114] calmer there, and they seemed to feel freer than at any time since the first raid by the Shibaatía-tjeti had put them on the alert almost a year before.

222 Anyone who wished to do so could go out and gather fruit,
[226] fish, or hunt crabs, even in small groups. The boys were having
411 fun shooting at the fish in the many streams with their little arrows
[857] of split palm shoots and bows made of a curved stick and a piece of twisted bark. It was the season of the moriche fruit, and the /157/ women went out almost every day and came back carrying
726 baskets full of this fruit. One afternoon about 1:00 P.M. some came to the aldea and said that a great number of tracks had been seen not far from the aldea. A group of men went out to investigate.

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726 628 But when they returned, none seemed overly alarmed. The men commented that it had probably been the Batanoatjeti or Bisheasetjeti on the way to make a raid on the other aldea, since they were the most bitter enemies and we were camped between them.

(The Majecototjeti were more or less friends of both aldeas at this time.)

726 But about three hours later some came saying that they had found the bow of "Valooboue" and the basket of one of the women lying near the tracks in disorderly fashion. The group had been attacked. Then the men prepared their bows and went out in every direction. There was a discussion concerning who had gone out with one of those already mentioned. "Etemi" (the wife of "Botai"), three of the wives of "Olami-Juu," an old man (the father of the three wives), and "Valooboue" had gone out together to gather moriche fruit. Two other women who had gone out with this group, but who had separated from them and gone back upstream, had already returned to the encampment. They said that they had heard an argument or a shout in the early part of the afternoon, but, not having heard anything else, had thought little of it.

A group of men went out to try to follow the tracks, but the tracks seemed to disappear or turn back on themselves. It was not clear what route the raiders had taken. Probably they had divided up to join forces and reassemble at some point. Finally, it was decided that they had gone back, toward the river, in the same direction that the tracks came from. Toward night-
[123] fall the men went to cross the Orinoco River and asked our men as well, who still lived on the north bank of the Orinoco, to look for more tracks at the wharf (only I accompanied them on the trip south of the Orinoco on this occasion).

That night the people who stayed in the camp speculated considerably concerning who the raiders might have been /158/ and how things had happened. Some said that it might be that David London had carried the Shibaatía-tjeti across the river in his boat. "Oh, that David," they said. Others were of the opinion that David would not have done such a thing.

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726 That night some of our missionaries were camped outside in a
114 casa abierta /"open house"/. Suddenly they were awakened by
a group of Yanomama men, who were standing and looking at
our missionaries, without saying anything. They all were painted
[302] black, as though to make it impossible to recognize them by
the light of the evening, or in the lesser light of the night.
Finally the silence was broken, and the men of Majecototjeti
told them that they were looking for the raiders who had killed
the man and the boy and had carried off the four women. Our
people had seen nothing of the raiders and were enormously sur-
prised at the news.

726 The following morning the men went to the place of the
attack and brought the arrows which were there. They did not
bring back the complete arrows, but only the ends with the feathers.
The arrows were not cut, but burned in two. The poisoned
points were brought also. The men carefully examined the arrows
and tried to make out from what aldea the raiders had come.
The arrows looked like those of the Liacoatjeti, but they had
seen a machete in that place, and who could imagine a
Liacoatjeti leaving a machete, even in a moment of danger.

There was also a rumor that a bark canoe had been found
some distance down the river. Probably the Shibaatfa-tjeti had
crossed the river in this canoe. (This rumor later turned out
to be false.)

A search was carried out in a large circle in every direction
to try to find out what direction the raiders had taken. Finally
the track was found, and the Liacoatjeti were then recognized
as the raiders, and they had come from the south. Their path had
been made so as to cover the tracks, leaving the formation one
by one and reassembling farther on.

721 The Majecototjeti planned, in turn, a raid of /159/ re-
venge. First a banquet was held with tapir meat and cassava to
eat with the meat. A day or so later the men marched off on a
raid of revenge against the Liacoatjeti. The Majecototjeti had
gone off two weeks before, but had not found the Liacoatjeti in
their houses.

727 "Jolocoiue," a boy with a broken leg who had stayed with
[123] us, asked us to pray to God to send "Etemi" (one of the abducted
women) home safe and sound.

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727 women) home safe and sound. A few days after the Majecototjeti returned from their attempted raid, "Etemi" returned. When she returned, the whole aldea went back to the north bank of the Orinoco River, in case they were being followed.

She told how it was that she had had a chance to walk in front of an old woman, and, getting somewhat out in front along the way, she was able to get off the path without being seen and had returned.

We marveled at our little faith. Why had we not prayed to God to bring them all back?

721 The chief repeatedly called meetings for raids to get revenge on the Liatcoatjeti. Usually the aldeas of Bisheasetjeti
[628] and Macolimutjeti accompanied the Majecototjeti on their raids. Our missionaries and some of the believers and the Yanomama prayed together that the raiders would not kill anybody or lose any of their own. Once they did not find anybody in the houses. Another time they became lost and for lack of food had to return home. Another time the whole group was so sick that they had to return, having covered only a few days of travel from their point
721 of departure. When a Yanomama aldea or several aldeas are about to
726 to go on a raid, they hold an impressive ceremony. They make one or several effigies which represent the enemy. Then a simulated raid is acted out, in which these effigies are wounded, broken in two, and then thrown down. If the enemy is far away, they can do this at home and several times on the way to the enemy. Sometimes the simulated raid is carried to the point of dividing the group into two parts: one group which shoots at the effigies and then escapes (flees) with several girls from the aldea; the other group comes along a little later, /160/ finds that the women are gone, and pursues the raiders until it finds them hidden, sometimes out in the forest, with the girls. When the raiders are found, each one gives a loud war-cry and the ceremony ends.

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721 In December of 1954 all our missionaries went down the river for our field conference, leaving the Frobenius expedition alone in Platanal. One night a man from Shibaatía-tjeti slipped

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114 into the aldea of Platanal and shot at one of the men. His shot
721 wounded "Lublo-juu" in the thigh. Nevertheless, since he recovered, there was no gathering for a raid. The men of the Frobenius expedition treated his leg and prevented complications, since the wound was quite deep.

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628 At the beginning of February 1955 the Macolimutjeti and the Bisheasetjeti were invited to a Pijiguao or palm (Peach) festival among the Majecototjeti. The Macolimutjeti all came, men, women, and children. But the Bisheasetjeti were somewhat afraid. The Majecototjeti had been somewhat friendly with the Batanoatjeti, bitter enemies of the Bisheasetjeti, and the Bisheasetjeti feared a trick. (Years before, in 1951, they had been tricked by the Liacoatitjeti.) But so as not to show their bad faith, the men came (or at least a few of them), but none of the women, in order thus to reduce the "desirability" of a trick to steal them.

726 In March of 1955 the men of Platanal had gone for a new attempt at a raid, leaving the rest of the people in the principal aldea, located to the north of the Orinoco. One day, when /illustration appears here/ /161/ all of them except the lame boy were out of the aldea, the Shibaatfa-tjeti returned. They found "Joashimocaoue," who was returning from the farm at the head of the others who had gone to take advantage of the Pijiguao, or palm festival. The raiders shot him twice in the back, since he ran toward the refuge of the aldea. He was wounded by one bamboo point, not deeply, and by one point poisoned with curare, which caused a rather deep wound. In the aldea he told the lame
[123] boy to hide himself from the raiders who had killed him, and then, finding no help in the aldea, he ran to our house, about 200 to 300 meters away.

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Mr. James Barker, in Mahekodotedi, accompanied by a group of Guaica Indians. (Photo Frobenius Expedition, 1954.)

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123 Some women had passed by our house on their way to the aldea. Upon hearing his cries, they turned around and ran toward our house; terrified, they came in and closed the door. Then they told us that a raid was taking place and to go to see if we could help. At first we thought that it would be better to stay in the house also, but then we heard a cry for help not far from our house. Upon hearing this, we opened the door. I went out and found a wounded man who had managed to get to about 20 meters from our house, but could come no farther.

He said, "Please, take out the poisoned arrow." I picked him up and brought him into our house.

I had heard that salt is good against the poison of the curare, but I had no idea of how to administer the salt. Since he was still conscious, I told David to try to take out the arrowhead while I had him drink all the salt water and try to keep it down before he became unconscious. It must have tasted terrible to him, since the Yanomama usually do not eat salt, but he was so desperate that he consented. He was unconscious before David managed to remove the arrowhead, so I gave him artificial respiration, while David finished extracting the arrowhead, because he had stopped breathing. We were never able to find the tip of the point. In spite of this, we put salt in the wound, hoping that it would help somewhat, since he was now unconscious and we did not know with certainty how to administer the salt.

/162/ David went to the aldea to see if anything had happened there to the lame boy or to anyone. I continued with the artificial respiration while he was gone. When David returned, about 20 minutes had passed, and from then on we took turns for almost two hours. His pulse remained good during the whole time. A little before two hours were up, he recovered consciousness and began to talk. He was soon breathing by himself, and we did not continue the treatment, because it hurt him. We stopped and found that he was breathing regularly enough by himself.

During all of this time the women were there looking on (one of them was a believer) and David and I were praying.

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726 123 Then the inhabitants of the aldea began to come back from the forest. Seeing him lying motionless in a puddle of blood, each group that came supposed that he was dead, and they were mourning greatly for a few minutes, lamenting him, before those who knew what had happened were able to quiet them. Finally, one of the older men with sufficient presence of mind said that he wanted to take him to the aldea, if this were possible.

First the man tried to walk on his own feet to the aldea, but "Joashimocaoue" was very weak and in much pain, and he could not do this at all. Therefore a hammock was sent for. They tied this to a post before rolling up the wounded man in it; two men carried him to the aldea. That night he again became unconscious. Two women came and told us, "We are weeping again." I recommended to David that he stay and pray while I went to see what could be done.

Upon arriving in the aldea, I found him unconscious in his hammock. They wanted me to put some medicine on his wounds, but there he was, unconscious. I said, "Let us pray first." Almost all of the believers who were there, and even those who had never professed to be believers, prayed with me for him. I prayed first and then they all repeated it together, asking God to spare his life. I had never seen a gathering of Yonomama praying so fervently before or since then. I do not know exactly how long we were praying, but it must have been about an hour.

/163/ When all had finished praying, we looked over and there he was, conscious again. He sat up and asked me if they had treated his wounds. I put sulfa powder on them and bandaged them. After this he did not lose consciousness again, and although his wounds were very painful, he went along well without any complications arising, although the tip of the poisoned point must still have been stuck in some part of his back.

721 The men of Majecototjeti returned from their raid on the Liacoatjeti without finding anyone in their houses.

123 75 [609] A little before this an old woman from Shibaatía-tjeti visited some of her Majecototjeti relatives and told them how in her aldea they did not like foreigners, because they were always curing people. When someone in the aldea was wounded, they

123 /163 cont./
75 wanted that person to die. I assured them that we alone had not cured the boy. The whole aldea had asked God to cure him, and God had answered. The people of the aldea affirmed that this was the case. They had prayed sufficiently, and God had spared his life.

726 The chief's brother came to Yabitjaotjeti and told the chief that the Liacoatjeti had been visiting upriver and that now they were on their way to their homes in their own aldea.

The chief called a meeting for another raid. First the
[622] whole aldea moved across the river in order to get away from the bank that was easy for the Shibaatía-tjeti to attack. David and I picked up our hammocks and went with them across the river. On the following day the men set off on the raid, or, more properly, they went down to the Bisheasetjeti to depart from there. Only the adult men went; the boys and children 17 years old or less remained at home.

This time David and I were able to pray that they might not fight. We asked, rather, that the Lord might protect the believers from danger. He did it. The raiders /164/ were gone
727 about three weeks. When they returned, the chief came to the aldea and had an official colloquy, briefly, with the most important man who was left in the aldea. At most the chanted colloquy lasted about half a minute. Then they all began to cry. Someone had been killed. We looked to see who had come back
[302] and, if possible, to see who was missing. Some of the men had red marks on their cheeks and on the forehead as a sign that they had killed someone or had "hecho" /done, finished/ much in the fight, for they did not know whether they had killed anyone or not.

I later learned that three of the enemy had been killed, and that one of those of the party, a man from Macolimutjeti, had been wounded in the chest and had died.

727 The underbrush had been cleared away at the site of our
783 temporary aldea, which thus would not serve for the matadores /killers/ to fulfill the rites of a matador as they should be done in thick underbrush. Therefore within an hour we moved to a

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729 new place located several hundred meters away. The matadores
783 went into the thicker underbrush and the other people remained some distance away. They could not touch anything that they
[413] were to eat, but rather had to reach for it with a stick. They had a special stick with which they scratched themselves. (Later their hammocks were hung in a certain type of tree, tied to the
[352] trunk, and made secure at the spot with vines. When the old hammocks were discarded, they lay down in new hammocks of vines especially made for this purpose and painted and adorned with feathers.) We remained in this camp for about three days, until the matadores thought the ciclo /cycle, term/ completed.

726 Later I learned the details of how the raid took place. The first aldea into which they penetrated was empty, and so was the second, and apparently the same was true at the site of the principal aldea. To obtain at least some revenge, the Bisheasetjeti began to knock down all of the crops which they found on that farm. The others joined in the destruction. All of the plantains were cut down and all of the root crops were pulled up, so that it would be at least a year before the farm would again produce so much food. Nevertheless, the other farm was not destroyed. /Illustration appears here./

/165/ But even then the chief was not satisfied. "The revenge for spilt blood must be with spilt blood." Thus the raiders advanced and found recent tracks, at last. The Liacoatjeti were camping out in the forest. They found a man alone and killed him. At this the chief gave the order to return home.

The Liacoatjeti pursued the raiders and finally found them camping on the bank of the southwest side of the Mavaca River. The Liacoatjeti attacked and killed one man. They were said to have lost two men in this.

[764] The extra week that they were gone was required for them to go some distance and burn the body of the dead warrior. It was too far to carry him and burn him at home.

166 Since they had fallen out with the Liacoatjeti, the
361 Majecototjeti had abandoned their farm south of the Orinoco and made a new one, this time farther down the river and on the north side.

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Waica

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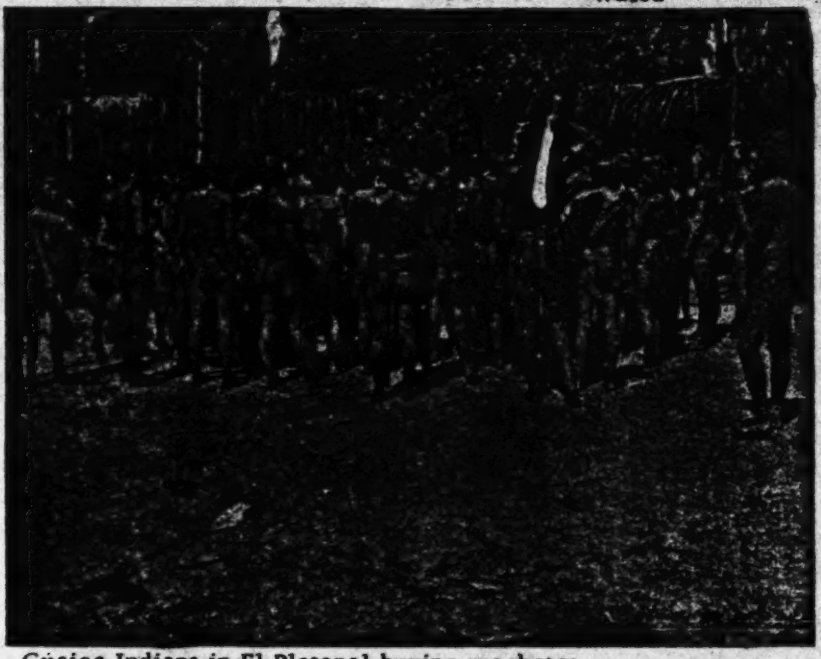

Guaica Indians in El Platanal buying machetes.

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A group of Guaica natives surrounding James Barker.

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921 In April of 1955 I found that the Bisheasetjeti had taken a girl from Vitocaiyetjeti, contrary to the desires of her aldea. Not long after this the Vitocaiyetjeti made a raid on the Bisheasetjeti to recapture the girl. The raiders managed to go
926 up the river as far as the Mavaca River, with one of the "Ceder" outfits which was working in the Yanomama territory. In the battle which followed there were a few banged heads and an abundance of broken arms, but nobody was killed. Nor did they manage to get the girl back. Now the two aldeas are threatening to shoot at each other.

623 The Vitacoiyetjeti, expecting to get help, told the Yoeitjeti that the Bisheasetjeti were also angry at them and were planning raids against them as well. They /166/ also told the Macolimutjeti that the Yoeitjeti were angry with the Bisheasetjeti, and, of course, the news reached the Bisheasetjeti.

628 On a trip of mine up the river I would stop in Bisheasetjeti.
123 The chief asked me to find out from the Bisheasetjeti whether the report was true. But the Bisheasetjeti were not at home when I passed. Nevertheless, the Majecototjeti did not know of any such intentions on the part of the Bisheasetjeti, in spite of having had several visits recently from the Bisheasetjeti.

I told this to the chief of the Yoeitjeti on my way back.

Now, in March 1956, the men and boys of Bisheasetjeti have gone down to Tamatama in canoes. But they did not stop in Yoeitjeti. The Yoeitjeti wanted to pursue them at once, but they lacked sufficient boats. Nineteen (19) men and two women from Yoeitjeti arrived at Tamatama a few days after the men of Bisheasetjeti had arrived there.

The Bisheasetjeti wanted to keep their bows when they arrived, in case their enemies might also come. But I told them to give us their bows and I would give them back when they were ready to leave.

If some other Yanomamas had come, I would also have taken their bows at the wharf in order to keep them from fighting. When the men of Bisheasetjeti saw the boat of the Yoeitjeti at a distance, they were afraid. I told them to go into my house and

/166 cont./

628 close the door. I was able to take the bows and arrows from the
123 newcomers at the wharf. When the Yoeitjeti arrived, their chief
asked me about the Bisheasetjeti. I told him that the
628 Bisheasetjeti did not wish to fight and that I already had their
123 bows. He let me take the bows of his men, and I shut them up
728 in one of our houses. Then the men of Yoeitjeti and Bisheasetjeti came together at my house, without weapons, and assured each other that they wished to be friends. All 31 of them slept together in my house (a little crowded, but comfortably). I offered them the empty house next to mine, but they did not want to have anything to do with it. (My house is well ventilated, /167/ having Venetian blinds all around and two shutter-doors.)

[437] On the following day the Yoeitjeti left, after exchanging their hammocks and bows with the Bisheasetjeti for machetes, clothing, matches, and other things. I was happy to see the two aldeas come together and become friends, because neither one of them wanted to fight.